

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

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USIA-06 OPIC-03 SP-02 TRSE-00 LAB-04 SIL-01
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 3656

USEEC

USOECN ALSO FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: UNGA, EGEN
SUBJECT:RESTRUCTURING: SITUATION REPORT PRIOR TO FINAL ROUND
OF NEGOTIATIONS

1. SUMMARY: LATEST TEXT ON RESTRUCTURING HAS BEEN FORWARDED
DEPARTMENT. TEXT A PRODUCT OF MEETINGS OF THE RESTRUCTED
"FRIENDS OF THE CHAIRMAN". SEVERAL SIGNIFICANT ISSUES STILL
PENDING, THE MOST IMPORTANT OF WHICH BEING THE POSSIBLE
ESTABLISHMENT OF A DIRECTOR GENERAL. IN MISSION'S VIEW, IT
WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO EXTEND THIS RESTRUCTURING EXERCISE
BEYOND THE 32ND UNGA, THE G-77 LINK BETWEEN SECTION V
(OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES) AND SECTION VIII (SECRETARIAT SUP-
PORT SERVICES, WHICH INCLUDES DG POSITION) IS REAL, AND G-77 ARE
WILLING TO NEGOTIATE THE MANDATE OF A DG. MISSION EMPHASIZES
THAT TEXT SHOULD BE VIEWED AS A PACKAGE WHICH COULD EASILY
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BE UNRAVELED. WE ALSO BELIEVE A TIMELY RESPONSE ON THE DG
POSITION IS NEEDED IF WE ARE TO MAINTAIN THE POSSIBLE
BENEFITS TO US IN SECTION V. CONSIDERATION ALSO SHOULD
BE GIVEN TO A FOLLOW UP MECHANISM WHICH IN OUR VIEW
COULD BE A SMALL, HIGH LEVEL INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP.
MISSION RECOMMENDS WE BE AUTHORIZED TO DISCREETLY SOUND
OUT KEY-G-77 REPS ON OUR PROPOSAL AND THAT THERE BE A

MEETING OF DEPARTMENT AND MISSION REPS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE
TO PREPARE FOR THIS FINAL ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. MISSION HAS TRANSMITTED TO DEPARTMENT (IO/FOX) THE
LATEST VERSION OF THE CHAIRMAN'S TEXT ON THE RESTRUCTURING
OF THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SECTORS OF THE UN. AS PREVIOUSLY
REPORTED, TENTATIVE SCHEDULE IS FOR THE CONTACT GROUP TO
MEET FOR TWO WEEKS STARTING OCTOBER 17 IN A FINAL EFFORT
TO REMOVE THE REMAINING BRACKETS AND TO DRAFT THE REPORT
OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE. THIS WOULD PERMIT THE REPORT TO
BE FORWARDED THROUGH ECOSOC (PURELY ROUTINE) TO THE UNGA
SECOND COMMITTEE FOR CONSIDERATION PROBABLY IN EARLY
NOVEMBER.

3. IT SHOULD BE CLEARLY UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS TEXT IS STILL
CONSIDERED A CHAIRMAN'S DRAFT AND THUS DOES NOT REPRESENT
GOVERNMENT AGREEMENT EVEN FOR THE SECTIONS WHICH ARE NOT
IN BRACKETS. THIS IS PARTICULARLY TRUE SINCE THIS VERSION
WAS PRODUCED BY A VERY RESTRICTED GROUP ("FRIENDS OF THE
CHAIRMAN") AND IS ONLY NOW AVAILABLE TO MOST DELEGATIONS.
IT IS THUS POSSIBLE THAT SIGNIFICANT REVISIONS MIGHT BE
MADE IN THE TEXT IN THE COURSE OF THE FORTHCOMING DIS-
CUSSIONS. HOWEVER, THE WORKING ASSUMPTION DURING THE
EFFORTS BY THE "FRIENDS" WAS THAT WE WERE ATTEMPTING TO
CONSTRUCT A PACKAGE WHICH, WHILE NOT FULLY SATISFACTORY
TO ANY PARTY, WOULD REPRESENT THE BEST AMALGAM OF INTER-
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ESTS. THIS UNDERLYING ASSUMPTION IS MADE EXPLICIT IN
THE CHAIRMAN'S FOOTNOTE TO THE TEXT WHICH NOTES THAT
"THE VARIOUS SECTIONS ARE INTERRELATED, IN PARTICULAR
SECTIONS V AND VIII CONSTITUTE A PACKAGE."

4. FOLLOWING IS NOT INTENDED TO BE EXHAUSTIVE BUT HIGH-
LIGHTS OF SOME OF THE PENDING ISSUES:

(A) SECTION I (GENERAL ASSEMBLY): THE BRACKETED PHRASE
"AND FOR THE HARMONIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL ACTION"
(PARA 1(A)) IS DRAWN FROM THE CHARTER (ARTICLE 1(4))
AND IS DESIGNED TO GET AGROUND G-77 INSISTANCE ON DESIG-
NATING THE GA AS A NEGOTIATING FORUM. AS REPORTED PRE-
VIOUSLY, THERE IS GENERAL RELUCTANCE TO SINGLING OUT
"HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMANITARIAN CONCERN" (PARA 3(A), A
U.S. PROPOSAL) BUT THIS MIGHT BE OVERCOME BY A MORE
GENERALIZED FORMULATION THAT CALLS ON THE GA TO PROVIDE
A SHARPER FOCUS FOR ALL ITS AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY.

(B) SECTION II (ECOSOC): THE MAJOR PENDING ISSUE INVOLVES
THE PRUNING OF ECOSOC SUBSIDIARY BODIES AS CONCOMMITANT
TO MORE FREQUENT SUBJECT ORIENTED SESSIONS OF ECOSOC
(PARAS 6-9). THE BASIC OUTLINE PRESENTED IN THE TEXT
INVOLVES (I) REVIEW AND AFFIRMATIVE ACTION TO CONTINUE

EXPERT/ADVISORY BODIES, (II) DISCONTINUANCE OF STANDING COMMITTEE EXCEPT THE COMMITTEE ON PROGRAMME AND COORDINATION (ON THE THEORY THAT THE STANDING COMMITTEES ARE LESS POLITICALLY SENSITIVE THAN THE VARIOUS COMMISSIONS), (III) REVIEW POSSIBLY LEADING TO AMALGAMATION OR DISCONTINUANCE OF THE COMMISSIONS, AND (IV) ECOSOC ASSUMING RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE PREPARATIONS OF ALL UN CONFERENCES. THE G-77 HAVE LINKED THIS PRUNING EXERCISE WITH AN EXPANSION OF ECOSOC MEMBERSHIP BUT IT IS NOT CLEAR HOW HARD THEY WILL PRESS THIS GIVEN THE ADAMANT SOVIET OBJECTIONS. (COMMENT: THE NGO COMMUNITY IS UPSET ABOUT THE POSSIBLE DISCONTINUANCE OF THE NGO COMMITTEE. IT MAY BE POSSIBLE TO KEEP THE COMMITTEE FUNCTIONING UNTIL IT COMPLETES ITS CURRENT REVIEW OF NGO'S.)
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(C) SECTION III (OTHER FORUMS): WE FACE THE CONTINUING PROBLEM OF DEFINING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE GA/ECOSOC AND OTHER UNITS IN THE UN SYSTEM. WE SUSPECT FINAL TERMINOLOGY WILL USE A COVER PHRASE SUCH AS "IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF THE CHARTER", I.E. ARTICLE 63 REFERRING TO RELATIONSHIP AGREEMENTS. THIS WILL NOT FULLY RESOLVE THE ISSUE SINCE THE G-77 WANT TO REVIEW THESE AGREEMENTS (SEE SECTION VII, PARA 8) BUT IT DOES LEAVE ANY NEW FINAL ARRANGEMENTS TO BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN ECOSOC AND THE GOVERNING BODIES OF THE OTHER UNITS.
(D) SECTION IV (REGIONAL AND INTERREGIONAL COOPERATION): NO COMMENT.
(E) SECTION V (OPERATIONAL ACTIVITIES): HOWEVER WATERED DOWN, THIS REPRESENTS THE NUCLEUS OF USG PROPOSALS AND EFFORTS.
(F) SECTION VI (PROGRAMMING): NO COMMENT.
(G) SECTION VII (INTERAGENCY COORDINATION): NO COMMENT.
(H) SECTION VIII (SECRETARIAT SUPPORT SERVICES): AS YET UNRESOLVED ARE THE CENTRAL ISSUES OF REORGANIZING THE SECRETARIAT (PARA 3) AND POSSIBLY ESTABLISHING THE POST OF A DIRECTOR GENERAL (PARA 5). PARAS 6 (PERSONNEL) AND 7 (INFORMATION ACTIVITIES) HAVE NOT BEEN DISCUSSED.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 3656

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5. FROM MISSION'S PERSPECTIVE, THE MOST CRITICAL LINKAGE IN THIS PACKAGE IS BETWEEN SECTIONS V AND VIII. THE G-77 HAVE INSISTED REPEATEDLY THAT UNLESS THERE IS A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION TO SECTION VIII, THEY WILL NOT AGREE TO SECTION V. THIS REFLECTS THE EVER PRESENT DUALITY IN THIS RESTRUCTURING EXERCISE WITH THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES SEEKING IMPROVED MANAGEMENT EFFICIENCY AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SEEKING INCREASED INFLUENCE IN THE DECISION MAKING PROCESS.

6. AS DEPARTMENT FULLY AWARE, THE POSSIBLE CREATION OF THE POSITION OF DIRECTOR GENERAL IS THE FOCAL POINT OF THESE DISCUSSIONS. LED BY THE FRENCH (AND TO A LESSER EXTENT THE FRG), THE EC-9 HAVE TOTALLY REJECTED THIS PROPOSAL. THOUGH UNDOUBTEDLY THERE ARE QUALMS, THE G-77 HAVE NOW OFFICIALLY ENDORSED THE PROPOSAL (I.E. G-77
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MINISTERIAL DECLARATION OF SEPTEMBER 1977). THE NON-EC-9 WEO MEMBERS (SAVE THE U.S.) HAVE CAUTIOUSLY ENDORSED THE POSITION. THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN SILENT. AND THE USDEL HAS SIMPLY AGREED TO CONSIDER THIS (OR ANY) PROPOSAL AS PART OF A FINAL PACKAGE.

7. WHILE IT IS DIFFICULT TO SPEAK WITH ANY CERTAINTY, THE FOLLOWING REPRESENTS THE MISSION'S BEST JUDGMENT ON SOME OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED:

(A) IT WILL NOT BE POSSIBLE TO EXTEND THIS RESTRUCTURING EXERCISE BEYOND THE 32ND UNGA. IF THERE IS AGREEMENT ON THE BASIC PRINCIPLES, THE ACTUAL IMPLEMENTATION PHASE UNDOUBTEDLY WILL SPILL OVER. BUT THE KIND OF GENERAL AND INTEGRATED REVIEW OF RESTRUCTURING WHICH WAS THE MANDATE OF THE AD HOC COMMITTEE WILL NOT BE CONTINUED.

(B) THE LINK BETWEEN SECTIONS V AND VIII IS REAL, AND THERE IS CONSIDERABLE RESISTANCE WITHIN THE G-77 TO ACCEPTING SECTION V EVEN AS PART OF THE DEAL. DURING THE G-77 MINISTERIAL, SEVERAL LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES ARGUED AGAINST ENDORSING THE DG POSITION NOT IN OPPOSITION TO THE POSITION ITSELF BUT FOR FEAR THAT IT WOULD TIE THEIR HANDS IN CHANGING SECTION V. IN THE CURRENT G-77 CONSULTATIONS, THEY ARE CONTINUING THEIR CRUSADE AGAINST SECTION V. (COMMENT: AS BEST WE CAN DETERMINE, THEIR MAIN TARGET IS THE INTEGRATION OF FUNDS AND THE GOVERNING BOARDS WHICH THEY SEE AS INTENSIFYING THE FLOW OF FUNDS TO OTHER HIGH PRIORITY AREAS--MSA'S, LEAST DEVELOPED, ETC. --RATHER THAN THEMSELVES). WITHOUT COMMENTING ON SECTION VIII, WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT SECTION V IS THE SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT IN THIS PACKAGE FROM THE USG VIEWPOINT.

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(C) EVEN THE STAUNCHEST SUPPORTERS OF THE DG (INCLUDING SUDAN) ACCEPT THAT THE MANDATE CONTAINED IN THE PRESENT G-77 PROPOSAL NEEDS REFINING. THEY HAVE INDICATED CLEARLY IN OUR CONVERSATIONS THAT THEY ARE WILLING TO WORK WITH "LIKE-MINDED" DELEGATIONS TO DEVELOP A GENERALLY ACCEPTABLE FORMULATION. THEY ENVISAGE THESE NEGOTIATIONS GETTING UNDERWAY VERY SHORTLY, WITH OR WITHOUT THE PARTICIPATION OF THE EC-9 AND OTHERS WHO HAVE NOT ENDORSED THE POSITION IN PRINCIPLE. (COMMENT: USDEL HAS CONTINUED TO DUCK THE ISSUE BUT HAS PRIVATELY NOTED THAT IF RPT IF THERE IS TO BE A DG, THE CURRENT TERMS OF REFERENCE ARE UNACCEPTABLE. OUR NON-PAPER (TO THE FRENCH) HAS RECEIVED RATHER WIDE CIRCULATION AND SOME DELS HAVE URGED THAT WE FORMALLY TABLE IT.)

8. FROM MISSION'S POINT OF VIEW, THE NATURE AND TIMING OF OUR RESPONSE TO THE CURRENT TEXT ARE EQUALLY SIGNIFICANT. WITH REGARD TO THE NATURE OF OUR RESPONSE, WE WOULD ONLY EMPHASIZE AGAIN THAT THE TEXT SHOULD BE VIEWED AS A PACKAGE--CONTAINING SOME PROBLEMATIC ELEMENTS, CONTAINING SOME POSITIVE ELEMENTS OF INTEREST TO U.S., BUT REPRESENTING THE "STATE OF THE ART" ON RESTRUCTURING AT THIS TIME. AS INDICATED ABOVE, WE DO NOT THINK IT WOULD TAKE MUCH TO UNRAVLE THE WHOLE PACKAGE.

9. ASSUMING THAT THE DEPARTMENT'S JUDGMENT IS THAT THERE IS SUFFICIENT BENEFIT IN THE PACKAGE, MISSION BELIEVES THAT TIMING BECOMES IMPORTANT. WE MUST RESPOND REASONABLY SOON ON THE REMAINING PENDING ISSUES--THE DG IN PARTICULAR--IN ORDER TO HAVE OUR VIEWS FULLY REFLECTED DURING THIS FINAL ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS. THE G-77 BEGAN THEIR REVIEW OF THE TEXT ON FRIDAY, OCTOBER 8. FROM WHAT WE HAVE HEARD, THEIR REPS IN THE FRIENDS MEETINGS ARE HARD PRESSED TO MAINTAIN THE TEXT ESPECIALLY SECTION V. THEY HAVE SPECIFICALLY ASKED US FOR SOME INDICATION OF THE U.S. POSITION HOPEFULLY FAVORING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DG
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POSITION TO STRENGTHEN THEIR HAND IN WITHSTANDING CHALLENGES. MISSION WILL BE MEETING BILATERALLY WITH LATIN AMERICAN REPS ATTEMPTING AS BEST WE CAN TO ASSUAGE THEIR FEARS ON SECTION V.

10. ONE CRITICAL ISSUE WHICH HAS NOT BEEN DISCUSSED AS YET IS THAT OF A FOLLOW UP MECHANISM. PREVIOUS HISTORY SUGGESTS THAT NEITHER THE SYG NOR HIS STAFF WILL TAKE THE LEAD IN IMPLEMENTING ANY PROPOSALS WHICH MIGHT EMERGE. NOR CAN THE REGULAR INTERGOVERNMENTAL BODIES BE COUNTED ON TO TAKE CONSISTENT DECISIONS. WE SEE THE NEED FOR A SMALL (WHICH IMMEDIATELY RAISES HACKLES), HIGH LEVEL INTERGOVERNMENTAL GROUP WHICH COULD, INTER ALIA, ASSIST IN INTERPRETING THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE, BOTH PROD AND SUPPORT THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, AND BE A FORCE FOR DISCIPLINE IN THE VARIOUS INTERGOVERNMENTAL BODIES.

11. MISSION RECOMMENDS THE FOLLOWING ACTION:

(A) WE BE AUTHORIZED TO DISCREETLY SOUND OUT KEY G-77 PERSONALITIES (CHAIRMAN DADZIE, PAKISTAN, JAMAICA, ARGENTINA, PERHAPS SUDAN) ON THE OUTLINES OF OUR PROPOSAL TO SEE IF WE ARE AT LEAST IN THE BALL PARK IN TERMS OF OUR THINKING;

(B) THAT A MEETING BE ARRANGED IN THE DEPARTMENT AS SOON AS POSSIBLE INVOLVING BOTH MISSION PERSONNEL AND INTERESTED DEPARTMENT OFFICERS TO PREPARE FOR THIS FINAL ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS.

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